

## Message Text

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43

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05

SR-02 ORM-01 PC-01 IO-10 /074 W

----- 123949

R 011625Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3134

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 3044

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CI, PGOV, PINS

SUBJ: NATIONAL CIVIL UNITY MOVEMENT FORMED

1. SUMMARY: A NATIONAL UNITY MOVEMENT (MUN - MOVIMIENTO DE UNIDAD NACIONAL) WAS FORMED APRIL 26 BY LEADERS OF PRINCIPAL CHILEAN BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS (GREMIOS) AND SOME OTHERS, TO SUPPORT THE JUNTA. MUN IS A GOC CREATION, ORIGINALLY INTENDED TO INCLUDE NOT ONLY THE "GREMIOS" BUT THE MILITARY, LABOR, ORGANIZED WOMEN AND YOUTH GROUPS, AND POSSIBLY MEMBERS OF THE RECESSED, NON-MARXIST POLITICAL PARTIES. AS NOW CONSTITUTED, HOWEVER, THE MUN APPEARS TO BE LIMITED FOR PRACTICAL PURPOSES TO THE GREMIOS ALONE. THE GOC INDICATED PROMPTLY THAT THE MUN WILL ENJOY ITS SUPPORT AND CLOSE COLLABORATION. END SUMMARY.

2. SOME 350 LEADERS OF CHILE'S BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS MET AT MOUNTAIN RESORT IN CODEGUA SOUTH OF SANTIAGO APRIL 25-26 TO FORM MUN, WHICH IN A "DECLARATION OF CODEGUA" THEY NAMED AS THE LONG-AWAITED CIVIL MOVEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR THE JUNTA. AS REASONS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF MUN, DECLARATION CITED INTERNATIONAL ATTACK ON CHILE, "ADVANCE OF COMMUNISM", PRESENCE IN CHILE OF "MINORITY GROUPS" (UNDOUBTEDLY MEANT TO INCLUDE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADERS) WHO RESIST CONSOLIDATION OF "STABLE AND DURABLE NATIONALISTIC REGIME", AND NEED TO INTEGRATE CIVILIANS INTO

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TASKS OF NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION. OBJECTIVES OF MUN WILL

INCLUDE SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT AND JUNTA, REALIZATION OF JUNTA'S MARCH 1974 "PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT" (SANTIAGO 1353 MARCH 19, 1974), COMPLETE DEPOLITICIZATION OF BASIC ORGANISMS OF COUNTRY, STIMULATION OF "NATURAL" ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS GREMIOS, MUNICIPALITIES AND NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS AS CONDUITS OF PARTICIPATION, AND DEVELOPMENT OF SPIRIT OF SOLIDARITY IN CHILEAN PATRIOTIC TRADITION. IN NAME OF COUNTRY, ALL CHILEANS ARE INVITED TO JOIN IN ACCOMPLISHMENT OF MUN'S GOALS.

3. PRINCIPAL GREMIOS ARE REPRESENTED IN MUN, AS ARE MAJOR GREMIO LEADERS SUCH AS LEON VILARIN OF TRUCKOWNERS (THE ONLY WELL KNOWN FIGURE ON BOARD OF DIRECTORS) AND MANUEL VALDES OF CONFEDERATION OF PRODUCTION AND COMMERCE. A FEW MINOR LABOR FIGURES ATTENDED, AND APPARENTLY SOME REPRESENTATION FROM A WOMEN'S GROUP. MEETING DESIGNATED A NINE-MEMBER BOARD OF DIRECTORS BY NAME, BUT SO FAR REPORTS DO NOT INDICATE SPECIFICALLY WHAT POSTS THEY HOLD. VILARIN SAID THAT MUN IS NOT "UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORTER OF JUNTA" BUT WILL HELP IT BEST BY ALSO CRITICIZING ITS ERRORS.

4. IN LETTERS TO GREMIO ADVISOR TO JUNTA JORGE FONTAINE, AND TO SECGEN OF GOVT. GEN. HERNAN BEJARES, MUN REQUESTED APPOINTMENT WITH PRES PINOCHET TO START OFF CAMPAIGN TO DEVELOP MUN THROUGHOUT COUNTRY. IN LETTER TO MUN PUBLISHED APRIL 26, BEJARES WELCOMED NEWS OF MUN FORMATION; HE CONFIRMED THAT LEADERS COULD MEET WITH PINOCHET AND WOULD BE GIVEN FACILITATIVE SUPPORT BY GOC SUCH AS AUTHORIZATION FOR MEETINGS. HE ASKED MUN TO MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH FONTAINE.

5. COMMENT: IT HAS TAKEN A LONG TIME FOR THIS SHOE TO DROP. MISSION HAS REPORTED SINCE OCT 1973 INTEREST OF JUNTA'S RIGHT-WING CIVILIAN POLITICAL ADVISORS SUCH AS JAIME GUZMAN AND ALVARO PUGA IN CREATION OF MASS MOVEMENT TO CHANNEL POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR JUNTA. ORIGINAL CONCEPT WAS FOR WIDER SPECTRUM OF INVOLVEMENT, INCLUDING MILITARY, YOUTH, WOMEN, LABOR, AND EVEN POLITICIANS OF THE "DEMOCRATIC" PARTIES IN RECESS.

6. BY MID-OUR CONCEPT WAS ALREADY MORE LIMITED, WITH NOTHING MORE HEARD ABOUT DIRECT MILITARY PARTICIPATION, AND CONFIDENTIAL

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WITH POLITICIANS EXCLUDED. THERE WAS STILL HOPE FOR A GENUINE LABOR INPUT, BUT THIS WAS FADING. JUNTA GREMIO ADVISER FONTAINE WAS CHARGED WITH ORGANIZATION OF MOVEMENT IN JAN 1975. BY THAT TIME MANY WERE SAYING THAT THE ORGANIZATION WOULD BE A "PINOCHET FOR (ELECTED) PRESIDENT" VEHICLE, AND OTHER JUNTA MEMBERS AND SENIOR MILITARY WERE THOUGHT TO BE DISTINCTLY UNHAPPY OVER THIS. ACTUAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF MUN THUS CAME AS NO SURPRISE.

7. IT IS EMBASSY'S PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE THAT MUN STARTS WITH MAJOR WEAKNESSES. MAINSTREAM OF LABOR IS HAVING NOTHING TO DO WITH IT. "LABOR" REPRESENTATIVES NOW IN MUN EITHER ARE CONSIDERED DISCREDITED PARIAHS BY REST OF MOVEMENT, OR REPRESENT LOW-LEVEL LOCALS. PRINCIPAL GOC-SPONSORED YOUTH LEADER ALSO TELLS US OFFICIAL YOUTH WILL HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH IT. MUN IS IN FACT, AND CAN BE SEEN BY INFORMED OBSERVERS TO BE, ALMOST COMPLETELY A GREMIO INSTRUMENT. ONE LEADER EMPHASIZED THAT FOUNDERS DO NOT REPRESENT THEIR GREMIOS AS SUCH, AND THAT MEMBERSHP IN MUN IS INDIVIDUAL. ANOTHER GREMIO LEADER HAD SOUR COMMENTS, HOWEVER (MUN LEADERS ARE "ILLUSTRIOUS UNKNOWNS"), SO THAT OPINION AMONG GREMIOS THEMSELVES IS NOT UNANIMOUS. MUN AT THIS POINT THEREFORE DOES NOT LOOK MUCH LIKE THE MOVEMENT EARLIER CONTEMPLATED. WE DOUBT CHILEANS WILL REVERSE GENERATIONS OF EXPERIENCE AND VOLUNTARILY FLOCK TO MUN RANKS. WE ALSO DOUBT GOC WILL USE DRASTIC METHODS TO FORCE CHILEANS INTO IT.  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLICIES, BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS, SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 01 MAY 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 05 SEP 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <05 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <19 NOV 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** NATIONAL CIVIL UNITY MOVEMENT FORMED  
**TAGS:** PGOV, PINS, CI, MUN-MOVIMIENTO DE UNIDAD NACIONAL  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006